3. Creating a ‘Wealthy Zone’: Sumber Jaya and the Way Tenong Highland

Colonial and post-colonial government initiatives in the twentieth century brought mixed results in the Lampung Province in the form of poor zones in some areas and ‘wealthy zones’ in others. West Lampung was one of the province’s least developed districts. However, a few regions in this ‘undeveloped’ district — Krui on the coast and Liwa (with adjoining Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya) in the eastern highlands — amply qualify as ‘wealthy zones’. This chapter focuses on the creation of Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya which have become the province’s most wealthy zones.

Indigenous populations are still relatively dominant in a number of coastal and highland regions of West Lampung. Non-Lampung migrant populations are highest on the southern part of the coast and in the eastern highlands. In ancient times, the West Lampung highlands were exclusively home to indigenous Lampung, but since the fourteenth century they have progressively left these highlands to settle the plains and coasts. A number of scholars argue that this out-migration is a result of the integration of the indigenous economy into world mercantilism.

In the eastern highland areas of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong, the majority of the population is comprised of non-indigenous migrants. Migrants are primarily from neighbouring provinces: Semendonese from South Sumatra; Sundanese from West Java; and Javanese from Central and Eastern Java. In this chapter I argue that the in-migration of non-indigenous Lampung to this highland region can be linked to ‘development’ and the reproduction of smallholder farming.

I start by giving a brief history of the out-migration of indigenous Lampung from the West Lampung highlands in pre-colonial and colonial times. This is followed by an account of colonial and post-colonial in-migration of non-indigenous Lampung to Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong in the eastern highlands. I conclude by linking a description of the recent socio-economic conditions in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong to the ‘development’ trajectory I have unveiled.

An Ancient Abandoned Highland: The Mountains of West Lampung

Lying between the borders of Lampung, Bengkulu, and South Sumatra in the north and the Sunda strait in the south, the West Lampung District can be
divided into three geographic zones: Pesisir Krui forming the coastal strip; the southern hinterland and slopes facing the Indian Ocean to the west; and the mountainous highlands to the east. These gently rolling mountains and hills form part of the southern tip of Sumatra’s Bukit Barisan mountain range which stretches the length of the island, from Aceh to Lampung.

Pesisir Krui is endowed with coconut groves and wet rice fields that dominate the narrow plains in the central portion of the coast. The southern coast also has upland fields comprised of annual crops (such as rice and maize) and, more recently, palm oil plantations. Cattle rearing is common in the region and damar tree agro-forests are present from the north to the south of Pesisir Krui, dominating the slopes up to an altitude of 800 metres. Here, along with other fruit and timber tree crops, indigenous smallholders cultivate *Shorea javanica* trees following successions of rice swidden with coffee and/or pepper gardens (Michon et al. 2000).

In the highlands, Mount Pesagi reaches 2,239 metres above sea level. Most of the surrounding mountains and hills are classified as forest reserves. Patches of forest can still be found on the upper slopes or on the tops of mountains and hills. Some villages have protected patches of forest adjacent to wet rice fields and settlements. Most settlements are located between 700 and 1,000 metres in elevation. Smallholders cultivate coffee, pepper, and other tree crops in the highlands. Terraced wet rice fields are constructed on the alluvial flats adjacent to creeks and rivers.

The highlands of West Lampung have become home to both indigenous communities and migrant populations of Semendo, Javanese, and Sundanese. The indigenous Pesisir population is dominant in the western part of the highlands, including the regions of Sukau, Balik Bukit, Belalau, and Kenali. In the eastern part of the highlands, numerous old Semendo villages can be encountered in Way Tenong, but not so many in Sumber Jaya. Sundanese and Javanese hamlets and villages can be found almost everywhere in the West Lampung mountains. The concentration of hamlets and villages of migrants from Java is increasing as mountain areas such as Sekincau and Suoh in the east are newly cleared. Migrant populations (Semendo, Javanese, and Sundanese) represent the majority in this ‘newly developed’ region of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong in the eastern-most regions.

The early history of the West Lampung Highlands identifies a flourishing ancient civilisation. Scattered megalithic remains can be found in the highlands. Batu Brak, the largest site of these megalithic remains, is located in Kebon Tebu, Sumber Jaya. In the centre of an area of about 2 hectares, a menhir or large standing stone is circled by neatly laid dolmens. In addition to megalithic stones, a series of archaeological excavations have also found bronze bracelets,
blades, beads, and shards of locally made and imported pots. Sukendar (1979) interprets the artifacts as representing ritual objects used in burials and religious worship as well as for more mundane uses such as food processing, tool making, and building materials. According to McKinnon (1993), the shards of ceramics, thought to have been imported from China during the ninth and tenth centuries AD, indicate that foreign trade was occurring in these highlands in ancient times.

The relationship between the ancient communities of Batu Brak and its neighbouring megalithic sites and the present people of Lampung is not well established. One thing that is reasonably certain, however, is that the disappearance of this ancient civilisation permitted the modern day population to migrate and settle in the West Lampung Highlands.

A more recent in- and out-migration history of Lampung suggests that the West Lampung highland region was abandoned by its population (Hadikusuma 1989; Sevin 1989). The majority of the present-day indigenous groups trace their origins from the West Lampung Highlands. Sekala Brak, a location in the foothills of Pesagi Mountain near Lake Ranau, is said to be their land of origin. Different periods and directions of migration have resulted in different dispersal patterns of indigenous Lampung populations (see Sevin 1989). Based on oral and written histories of indigenous communities collected by Dutch scholars and officials, it is thought that the first waves of out-migration took place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Groups from the highlands moved to the central and eastern plains where they developed as a sub-group of indigenous people known as the Abung. A second and subsequent wave of migration dispersed to the southern and western lowlands and coast. In the eighteenth century they were identified as Pesisir (or Peminggir). The out-migration of the Pesisir from Belalau continued up until the twentieth century. Both Abung and Pesisir later either absorbed or drove out the Pubian, the third and smallest group of indigenous people living in the central and southern Lampung plains. Unlike Abung and Pesisir, Pubian oral history does not strongly link their origins to the Belalau highlands.

Subsequent waves of migration from highland to lowland Lampung are thought to be linked to pre-colonial and colonial mercantilism and the characteristics of indigenous social organisation.1

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1 A history of Lampung before the migration from highlands to lowlands is difficult to ascertain. Historical materials provide convincing evidence of the existence of an earlier civilisation in lowland Lampung (Hadikusuma 1989). A Chinese source indicates trading relations between China and Tulang Bawang on the north coast as early as the seventh century. Stone plaques describing Sriwijaya’s power and influence in Lampung at the end of the first millennium were found in several places. Signs of the presence of Majapahit in Lampung in the thirteenth century can also be traced.
Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sultanate of Banten — then the world’s primary pepper supplier — obtained pepper supplies from Lampung. From the eighteenth century, the Dutch obtained pepper supplies directly from the eastern portion of Lampung. The British controlled the pepper supply from Lampung’s west coast from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. This included the present-day West Lampung District, which then included part of the residency of Bengkulu. During the second half of the second millennium, the indigenous Lampung population was the most important global pepper producer.

A British report written in 1813 (Bastin 1965: 147–8) notes that on the west coast of Krui, 881 married men and 640 single men were engaged in an informal ‘contract’ with the British to farm various stages of pepper gardens. These men maintained almost half a million pepper-bearing vines and an equal number of non-bearing vines (newly planted and old). The production for that year was 147.6 tonnes. In addition, there were another 119,550 bearing vines that produced 24 tonnes of pepper in ‘free’ gardens. An earlier historical record — a seventeenth century plaque — indicates a similar contract between the indigenous Lampung producers on the southern coast and the Sultan of Banten (Kingston 1987: 10–1). A married man was expected to plant 1,000 pepper vines while bachelors were to plant 500. By buying the pepper at a set price, the Sultan monopolised sales and claimed a minimum of 11 per cent as tribute.

Up to the mid-nineteenth century, the Sultanate of Banten, the Sultanate of Palembang, and Bugis and Malay traders were involved in a series of conflicts with pirates downstream of Way Tulang Bawang in the northeastern part of Lampung. Control over pepper produced in the surrounding areas was at the heart of the conflict. From evidence of pepper trading in the lowlands of Lampung, it can be assumed that pepper cultivation may well have been a motivation for the migration of indigenous peoples from the highlands to the lowlands.

If engaging in petty commodity production for global trade inspired the indigenous Lampung to move to the lowlands, the process was also mediated and even facilitated by customary practices such as marriage, property, inheritance and other socio-political structures. Payment of a high bride price was a prominent characteristic of marriage among the Lampung people (Wilken 1921, cited in LeBar 1976). The indigenous Lampung practised virilocal post-marital residence and male primogeniture in inheritance. The bride was ‘taken’ from her group and the children ‘belonged’ to the groom’s group. House and land passed to the elder son who was then responsible for the care of the parents and unmarried siblings. The size of the brideprice and the marriage party was negotiated in accordance with the status of the family in the community. The higher the status, the higher the brideprice payment. Larger wedding parties...
required more buffaloes to be slaughtered and more meals to be served. Having inherited none of their parents’ property, after marriage the younger brothers worked on their own farms to provide their families with food, a sturdy house, and enough resources to pay for the brideprice and the wedding party when their sons got married. Pepper cultivation and, later in the nineteenth century, coffee production enabled this system to persist. New land was constantly sought for pepper gardens. Forests were cleared for upland rice swiddens in the first year or two and transformed into pepper gardens (and/or coffee gardens later in the nineteenth century) to be managed for another ten years or more. Old gardens that had been left fallow were later rejuvenated, transformed into tree gardens, or simply abandoned for natural regeneration. A new forest plot was cleared and the cycle of such rotational cultivation continued.

A dominant tradition among Lampung communities occupying new territory involved a process of political fission. As discussed in Chapter Two, buay and marga are recognised as the largest socio-political units of the indigenous people. Each marga was independent of other marga. Rather than uniting into a single kingdom, it is evident that the indigenous Lampung were continuously creating independent marga. This typically took place when groups of people migrated to establish new gardens and create new villages on land beyond the boundary of their mother marga territory. With established trading networks for pepper on the coasts (Krui and Semangka Bay) and the presence of navigable rivers such as the Way Tulang Bawang in the north, the Way Seputh in the centre and the Way Sekampung in the south, lowland Lampung attracted more and more migrants from the highlands.

The waves of migration of indigenous people from the highlands to the lowlands eventually left extensive tracts of the West Lampung highlands ‘unpopulated’. In the early nineteenth century, a few small villages surrounded by mountain forests were scattered in the regions of Balik Bukit, Belalau, and Kenali. As noted in Chapter Two, by the mid-1800s, the Dutch had gazetted the non-cultivated lands between settlements and fields as state property. On one hand, this action limited indigenous people’s access to forest land between their settlements and fields, but on the other hand it enabled the Dutch officers to allow migrants to move in and occupy former indigenous marga lands.

The present day mountain region of Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya — then known as the territory of marga Kenali — became an ‘empty’ frontier. It is this empty land that attracted an influx of more recent migrants, this time from outside Lampung.

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2 Some of the independent adjacent marga formed loose confederations, such as Megou Pak (the four marga) on the southern coast (that later supported Raden Intan, his son Raden Imba Kusuma, and his grandson Raden Intan II’s rebellion against the Dutch in the 1800s), and Abung Siwo Mego (the nine marga of Abung) who all claim to be descendants of the same mythical ancestor Minak Paduka Begaduh, a migrant from Belalau.
Map 3-1: Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong.

Source: CartoGIS, ANU.
The Coming of the Semendo: Way Tenong

Semendo is the name of a sub-group of Pasemah people inhabiting highland Palembang in the province of South Sumatra. Compared to other sub-groups of Pasemah, the Semendo were said to have their own distinct characteristics of social organisation (LeBar 1976). While other Pasemah sub-groups are organised genealogically into patrilineal clans (sumbai or marga) and lineages (jurai), the Semendo have matrilineal clans and lineages. Other Pasemah sub-groups practised the prevalent system of marriage involving a high bride price, virilocal post-marital residence, and male primogeniture for inheritance. In contrast, Semendo marriage involved no brideprice payment, uxorilocal post-marital residence, and female primogeniture for inheritance (tunggu tubang). The tunggu tubang stipulates that the eldest daughter inherits the parents’ property, usually the house and land. The Semendo, among the Pasemah, were also the earliest to convert to Islam, and their wet rice fields were more advanced than those found anywhere else in southern Sumatra in the nineteenth century.

An impetus for the migration of the Semendo can be attributed to the practice of tunggu tubang, which forced residents to look for new land to clear elsewhere (Sevin 1989: 93). Within the Pasemah land, the Semendo first migrated to Semendo Ulu Luas and Mekakau, and later moved further down to Bengkulu and Lampung. In the 1870s the Semendo started their subsequent southward migration to Lampung. The Semendo first moved to present day Kasui, Way Tenong, Sumber Jaya, and Pulau Panggung, migrating along the eastern slopes of the Bukit Barisan mountain range. They cleared the forest, created villages and wet rice fields, and opened upland rice fields that were then transformed into coffee gardens that were often inter-planted with pepper. The Semendo established four ‘independent’ marga in the 1930s along this route of migration. These marga (from north to south) are Kasui, Rebang Seputih, Way Tenong, and Rebang Pugung.

It is important to note that colonial interventions facilitated the further southward migration of the Semendo people into Lampung. By the 1850s, the Dutch had been able to place the territory and the people of Palembang, Bengkulu and Lampung under their political control. All of the villages and marga in these three residencies were integrated into the colonial government administration. Using these three villages, the Dutch overthrew the British-controlled Singapore trading networks, and reoriented the trading of commodities (especially pepper and coffee) via Batavia (Jakarta) as an obligatory transit. Migrating to

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3 According to Jaspan (1976), the Pasemah in ‘a broad sense’ include the ‘linguistically kindred’ groups of Empat Lawang (Lintang), Gumai, Kikim, Kism, Lembak, Lematang, Mekakau, Pasemah Lebar, Semendo and Serawai. In ‘a strict sense’, the term Pasemah refers only to the people of Pasemah Lebar.

4 In the middle of the nineteenth century, pepper was no longer the only commodity sought from Lampung and production decreased to only 10 per cent compared with a century before. The Dutch liquidated the VOC
Lampung to get closer to the trading posts in Semangka Bay therefore offered an economic advantage to the Semendo. In the 1850s, the Dutch imposed a new system of land ownership (Kingston 1987) that enabled the Semendo people to occupy land in Lampung. The government only recognised land claims by individual villages up to six kilometres from the village and three kilometres from a temporary hamlet on newly cleared land. The land located between the villages, formerly common marga territory, now became a state domain. The Dutch administration allowed non-Lampung migrants to occupy and settle on some of this newly gazetted ‘public land’, which led to the Lampung marga no longer being in a position to protect the traditional claims of its members to frontier land (ibid.: 242) or to resist migrants seeking to settle and farm their former common land.

During the Dutch administration, West Lampung District was known as the ‘sub-division’ of Krui and formed part of Bengkulu residency (see Sevin 1989). Of the four Semendo marga in present day Lampung, Way Tenong formed part of the sub-division of Krui under the Bengkulu residency administration. Elders in Way Tenong often reflect on the story of the first migration of Semendo to Way Tenong. One version of this story, as told by Pak Jahri, the former village head of Mutar Alam, was published as a ‘brief history of ex-marga, Way Tenong’:

In 1884, a group of men, Imam Paliare (Abidun), Raje Kuase (Serimat) and Puting Merge (Sendersang) and their followers Jenderang (Buntak), Jemakim, Senikar and Jakalam received an order from Puyang Awak to search for land around the headwaters of Way Besai River. These men lived in marga Ulu Nasal in Bengkulu. They were told that Way Besai was located in Rantau Temiang. So they went to the village of Rantau Temiang in Rebang Kasui. When they arrived there, two persons, Panjilam and Sersin, welcomed them. They continued travelling along the Way Besai River and stopped at Gedung Aji, now the site of the Way Besai hydroelectric power plant. In 1885, at Gedung Aji, they cleared the forest and opened upland rice fields for a year while continuing the search for the head of the Way Besai River. After a year, in 1886, they finally found the location they were looking for and moved there. They called this newly cleared land Mutar Alam.

After building a settlement in Mutar Alam, they travelled back to Rantau Temiang in Rebang Kasui and continued to Menggala to seek permission [to create the village administration] from the Dutch officer. In Menggala they reported to the officer their new location at the head

at the end of the eighteenth century. Coffee, among other cash crops (such as sugar and pepper), was planted by peasants under the system of ‘forced cultivation’ and by private companies in parts of Java, Sulawesi and Sumatra. By the twentieth century, in the southern half of Sumatra, coffee in the highlands and rubber in the lowlands became an important source of income for smallholder farmers.
of the Way Besai and asked for permission. They were told that the land at the head of Way Besai was not under Menggala administration, [and that] the land was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Krui. The delegates were given an official letter to report to marga Kenali. In Kenali, the delegates met the chief of the marga Pangeran Polon. He accepted the new settlers as residents of marga Kenali. He appointed Puting Merge as the head of the new settlement, [who was] to report to him every three months about the development of the population and to receive further instructions.

As the population grew, new hamlets were created. In 1887, the new hamlets included: ‘old’ Fajar Bulan (now Sukajaya), Karang Tanjul (now Karang Agung), Gedung Surian and ‘old’ Sukaraja. In 1891, the resident of Bengkulu officially recognised all these hamlets as parts of the administrative village of Mutar Alam and appointed Serimat as village head.

In 1900, after a long approach to buay Belunguh and marga Kenali, the status of marga was finally granted. To mark the separation of Way Tenong (the name of the new marga) from the marga of Kenali, a set of gifts was given by the new community to the marga Kenali. The gifts included a sum of cash, a buffalo, a hundred dishes of rice cooked in sweet coconut milk, a hundred dried/fermented semah fish and an elephant tusk. The two marga were declared as siblings (kakak adik), with Kenali as the elder and Way Tenong the younger. The boundary of the territory of the new marga was then set. The boundaries were Air Sanyir/Sekincau to the west, Dwikora to the east, Mount Remas to the north and Begelung Ridge to the east. Also [that year], the Krui Dutch officer officially appointed Raden Cili as the first marga chief (BUMIpos, 11 September 2000).

According to many elders, the common pattern of creating new settlements was for small groups of families to depart from their village and clear new forest areas for cultivation. They sought fertile and relatively flat land where water could be channelled for wet rice fields. When this land was found, the forest was then transformed into permanent agricultural fields. This endeavour by a group of families to find new land to farm was called nyusuk. The cleared land evolved from a hamlet or village with a few scattered houses and huts, to settlements usually organised along the main road or path. The first land cleared in Way Tenong was the old hamlet and wet rice fields in the village of Sukaraja spread out over approximately 40 hectares. The fields were cleared and distributed among the first group of families arriving from Ulu Nasal, Bengkulu. Villages in the area were comprised of rows of old stilted wooden houses along the main road near the wet rice fields, following the banks of Way Besai River and its tributaries. It is
said that the cultivation of coffee was initiated later after the Dutch agricultural officers informed the people that the soil was suitable for coffee and advised them to plant this lucrative export crop. Coffee was then planted — with and without the initial one or two crops of upland rice — in the upland after the forest had been cleared. After 15 to 20 years, the fields were left fallow.

In the first half of the twentieth century there were five Semendo villages in Way Tenong: Sukaraja; Mutar Alam; Gunung Terang; Karang Agung; and Way Petai (Pain 1989: 304). In the 1950s, when transmigrants from the National Reconstruction Bureau (Biro Rekonstruksi Nasional) created new villages and a separate administrative sub-district, all of the villages in marga Way Tenong were integrated into the new sub-district of Sumber Jaya. Simpang Sari, the capital of the new sub-district of Sumber Jaya, is much closer than Liwa, the capital of the sub-district of Balik Bukit to which Way Tenong formerly belonged. It took a day’s motorbike travel to go to Liwa, but only an hour or two to travel to Simpang Sari.

When discussing their traditions, the Semendo in Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya will mostly refer to tunggu tubang where the parental house and land is inherited by the eldest daughter who, in return, is responsible for the care of her parents. Those who have no daughter bequeathed their property to their eldest son. This less preferred practice is called nangkit. Selling the tunggu tubang house and land is unacceptable and very rare. Thus, one can easily find in the region many tunggu tubang houses, wet rice fields, and coffee gardens, some of which have remained intact for four generations while new ones are continually created. Old men usually relate the concept of tunggu tubang to politeness between men and women (singkuh sinduh). To live with your own daughter in the same house is more acceptable than to live with your daughter-in-law. For example, it is extremely impolite for a man to be at home only with his daughter-in-law, to eat alone in the kitchen with his daughter-in-law, or even to be fed by his daughter-in-law when he is sick.

Semendo in the region also pay special tribute to their ancestors (puyang). Many people believe that the Semendo in the region are descendents of the mythical ancestor Puyang Awak, who is said to be ‘immortal’. Puyang Awak is believed to be immortal because he has no grave and his whereabouts are unknown. Great-grandparent’s graves are cared for and frequently visited for prayers (ziarah). In the villages of Mutar Alam and Gunung Terang, a ritual feast of sedekah pusaka (feast to celebrate ancestors) is held each year in the Islamic calendar month of Muharam. In these ritual gatherings, the descendents of the ‘founders’ of the villages — a male in Mutar Alam and a female in Gunung Terang — recite verses from the Qur’an and pray for their ancestors. In both villages the sedekah is also marked by the cleaning of a dagger heirloom (pusaka) and concluded with a meal attended by the entire village.
An Enclave of Indigenous Lampung: Muara Jaya Village

Muara Jaya is the only village in the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region that is almost exclusively populated by indigenous Lampung Pesisir. Surrounded by Semendo, Sundanese, and Javanese villages, Muara Jaya is now an enclave. In this village, there are no more than about 200 Pesisir families. Amongst themselves, the indigenous people in Muara Jaya still use the Pesisir dialect of the Lampung language even though some Javanese men and women have intermarried with them. Like all Semendo villages, the majority of Pesisir families in Muara Jaya live in stilted wooden houses.

The Lampung Pesisir population in Muara Jaya first arrived in 1930 when seven families moved from Sebarus in Liwa. The land was inside the territory of the Way Tenong marga so they needed permission from the Semendo people. The Semendo of Gunung Terang village were consulted and gave them permission to clear the land and settle in their present location. A year later, these seven families returned to Liwa immediately after a large earthquake and, in the years that followed, some of these families (together with new families) came to Muara Jaya. In 1949 the new hamlet of Muara Jaya was officially acknowledged as an administrative village. In the mid-1990s, a section of the village with relatively few indigenous Lampung was officially recognised as a separate village, so now there are Muara Jaya I and Muara Jaya II.

According to elders in Muara Jaya, looking for new land for wet rice fields was the primary reason for their migration from Liwa. The alluvial riverbank flats suitable for wet rice fields were a source of conflict in the 1950s and 1960s between the Lampung and the neighbouring transmigrants. Both groups claimed ownership over the same land, which was considered ‘precious’ by both groups. The dispute was resolved after high profile mediation by the provincial and national authorities.

Apart from wet rice fields, the Lampung also planted upland rice (padi ladang or padi darat). Some elders also said that they had heard that the Dutch administration planned to open a tea plantation in the region, but this plan never materialised. After the arrival of transmigrants from Java, it was said that coffee became a significant source of income during the 1950s. It is important to note that the world-wide economic depression in the 1930s, followed by Japan’s occupation of Indonesia in the first half of the 1940s, and Indonesia’s war of independence against the Dutch in the second half of the 1940s, caused the decline of markets and smallholders’ production of cash crops, including coffee. Consequently, during the 1930s and 1940s, rice production from wet and dry/upland fields became the primary subsistence product for Muara Jaya.
villagers’ and others in the archipelago. Indonesian Independence, declared in 1945 though not acknowledged by the Dutch until 1949, marked the revival of coffee production in the region. Transmigrants from Java and subsequent developments have further facilitated this revival.

The Arrival of Transmigrants from Java: The Creation of Sumber Jaya

Unlike transmigration projects elsewhere in Indonesia, which are organised by the Office of Transmigration, the transmigration project in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong was organised by a special unit under the office of the then Prime Minister of Indonesia. This special unit, called the Biro Rekonstruksi Nasional (BRN), was designed to assist soldiers and civilian militia who had been involved in the war of independence. The assistance was considered a kind of reward for these freedom fighters and was primarily aimed at ensuring their return to ‘a normal life’. One obvious choice was to turn these fighters into smallholding farmers by allotting each of them a piece of land. Since there was no more land to be distributed in Java, they had to be transmigrated outside of Java. Lampung was chosen as the destination due to its location close to Java and previous experience with receiving transmigrants. Several locations in Lampung were selected to receive the BRN transmigrants, and the ‘empty’ Way Tenong highland area was one of these.

Mimicking the structure of the army, the BRN transmigrants were organised into groups, each under the leadership of a commander (Hereen 1979). Under this leadership, each separate group cleared the forest, built a housing compound and road, and cultivated the land. Through their group leader, the transmigrants received government assistance in the form of cash, food, tools, and building materials in the initial years. From 1949 to 1959, seven new transmigrant villages were created. The first locations to be cleared were the present villages of Sukapura and Simpang Sari to the east of Bukit Rigis Mountain. From here, clearing continued to an area called Kebon Tebu to the south of the same mountain, where three villages were created (Tribudi Sukur, Pura Jaya, and Pura Wiwitan), and up to the northwest of the mountain, where two villages were created (Fajar Bulan and Pura Laksana), close to the Semendonese villages in Way Tenong.

Most BRN transmigrants were Sundanese and were from different parts of West Java such as Tasik Malaya, Karawang, and Bogor. There were few Javanese. It is interesting to note that the number of actual veterans was very small. The implication is that most BRN transmigrants to Sumber Jaya had likely never been involved in the independence war, and that more than half of the migrants were actually farmers and labourers (Heeren 1979: 72). There are no precise data on
how many ‘official’ BRN transmigrants arrived in Sumber Jaya. The BRN office recorded 22,198 members transmigrating to Lampung during 1951–53, among them 9,205 persons (2,441 families) who transmigrated to North Lampung, while the rest went to other sites in south and central Lampung (ibid.). In North Lampung there were two BRN sites — Sumber Jaya and Tanjung Raya. The latter consisted only of one village in 1952, but a decade later had developed to include two other villages (Sevin 1989: 107). Heeren (1979: 81–3) noted that Sumber Jaya was the largest BRN transmigration site in Lampung. Transmigrants in Sumber Jaya were organised into two main organisations — Loba and Pencak Silat (or PS), the latter being further divided into PS51, PS52, and PS53. The Loba members settled in Sukapura. The PS51 group occupied Simpangsari, and 450 families arrived in 1951, but by 1954 only 115 of them remained. By 1957, there were 715 families in the PS52 and PS53 groups, of whom 2,592 people (in 12 sub-groups) lived in Kebon Tebu, while 2,029 lived in Way Tenong.

Heeren (1979: 81–93) further notes the development of cooperatives among BRN transmigrants in Sumber Jaya, as well as problems with the neighbouring Semendo and Lampung people during the period from 1951 to 1957. Under the organisation of Loba and PS, the transmigrants developed cooperatives for production and consumption. The land was cleared, cultivated, and harvested collectively. All of the harvests ‘belonged’ to the organisation and each member received food, goods, and a small amount of cash for their daily needs. The harvests were sold and the surplus kept by the organisation, allowing it to ensure that all of its members had enough food to eat. Houses were built collectively. For the first five years, the land and houses could be individually owned but to sell them was prohibited. Hereen suggests that under Loba, the development of the cooperative was very positive, with the organisation owning six shops, a sawmill, and a tile factory. In contrast, the PS cooperatives in Kebon Tebu were soon in a state of crisis. Here harvests had failed and roads were not properly maintained. Collective farming soon gave way to individual production. With regard to the development of cooperatives, the success of Loba and the failure of PS has been largely attributed to the skills and qualities of the local leaders. Loba had strong, charismatic and reliable leaders, while the PS did not.

In Sukapura and Simpang Sari, the average size of land holdings was 1.1 hectares per family, while in Kebon Tebu it was 0.8 hectares. Both of these figures were far below the ideal and planned average of 3 hectares per family (Hereen 1979). Besides rice, the transmigrants cultivated maize, potato, cabbage, European vegetables (like cabbage and carrot), coffee, and a small amount of pepper. Since the road had not yet been constructed in those initial years, transporting these commodities was the main constraint.

5 An elder in Sukapura said that there were about 400–600 families in Loba, many of them from Tasik Malaya. Some of the Loba members later created the separate village of Tribudi Sukur.
Claims and counter-claims over land between the transmigrants and the neighbouring Semendo and Lampung people constituted another problem. There were cases where the indigenous Lampung and Semendo settlers claimed land that had been transformed into irrigated rice fields by the transmigrants. These conflicts were largely due to the fact that, unlike other transmigration sites elsewhere, in Sumber Jaya the transmigration project was not preceded by the process of field delineation to define the boundaries of the land allocated for the transmigrant villages.

Also in the 1950s, the BRN transmigration villages created a separate administrative sub-district (kecamatan) and refused to be integrated into the existing administrative sub-district (negeri) of Balik Bukit. The transmigrants’ concern was that under the Balik Bukit negeri they would be an inferior minority ‘ruled’ by Lampung and/or Semendo administrators. By creating a separate kecamatan, the BRN transmigrants were able to interact directly with higher level authorities with a better chance of persuading them to bring village development projects to their newly created village of ‘freedom fighters’.

Then Indonesian President Sukarno and Vice President Hatta officially inaugurated the formation of Sumber Jaya as an administrative kecamatan in 1952. Elders in Sumber Jaya hold the memories of Sukarno and Hatta’s visit to Sumber Jaya dear. It is said that the president himself chose sumber jaya (‘source of glory’) as the name for the new kecamatan. Sukarno’s speech transcript, a hand-written plaque, and a photograph are preserved commemorating the occasion. The president also laid the first stone foundation for a monument named in his honour (Tugu Sukarno) in Simpang Sari. A hamlet in Sukapura is named Sukarata after Sukarno and Hatta. The wooden house in Simpang Sari where both men stayed during the visit has been preserved.

**The Flood of Spontaneous Migrants**

The Semendo from the neighbouring Way Tenong and Kasui areas were quick to decide ‘to get closer’ to these transmigration villages, and literally did so by clearing the land adjacent to these new settlements. While aligning themselves with transmigration settlements as an initial strategy to benefit from government development projects, the Semendo had a more dramatic next strategy that involved bringing Javanese and Sundanese migrants to their villages. In this way the Semendo villagers hoped to receive government programs and projects similar to those of the transmigration villages. It was this pattern that later brought a flood of many more spontaneous migrants to the region. Through this strategy, the number of villages in the region doubled in three decades. Thirteen villages (five of Semendo transmigrants, one of Lampung, and seven of Sundanese and Javanese BRN transmigrants) in the early 1960s grew to
26 villages by the mid-1980s (Sevin 1989: 304). The Semendo and spontaneous migrants — most of whom were Javanese — later created ten new villages. Of these ten villages, four (Padang Tambak, Suka Menanti, Tanjung Raya, and Sindang Pagar) were populated by both Semendo and Javanese migrants, while the other five (Sidodadi, Sri Menanti, Sumber Alam, Tri Mulyo, and Gedung Surian) were populated mostly by Javanese migrants. In addition, the BRN transmigration villages created three more administrative villages — Pura Mekar, Cipta Waras, and Sukajaya.

It is interesting to note this new approach by the Semendo villagers. Not only were more and more Javanese and Sundanese migrants welcomed to settle in their villages, but part of their village land was allocated to the new migrants for the creation of new villages. Not all of these Javanese and Sundanese migrants came directly from the island of Java; many were born or had lived in old transmigration sites in south, central, and north Lampung. In many cases, these Javanese migrants were given the land for free. For example, the village of Gunung Terang gave part of its still forested village territory to groups of Sundanese and Javanese migrants. These groups then later created the villages of Gedung Surian, Cipta Waras, Trimulyo, and Semarang Jaya. In the same way, the village of Sukamenanti gave and sold land to Javanese migrants to create Sidodadi and Sri Menanti, where migrants transformed the forests and bush into villages. The Javanese migrants were also welcomed in established Semendo villages. They could work farming the unused plots (numpang), as sharecroppers (known locally as garap, maro or bagi hasil) or wage-labourers (known locally as bujang or upahan) until they were eventually able to buy a piece of land of their own. Usually the land was bought through a series of small payments (cicilan) at the end of the coffee harvest season.

The reason that the Semendo were so generous in giving land to Javanese migrants, apart from obtaining abundant labour for their coffee gardens and wet rice fields, was to attract government programs and projects such as roads, schools, clinics and markets. According to the former heads of these Semendo villages, the arrival of the Sundanese and Javanese brought progress to their people. As these former village heads put it, ‘without the migrants from Java, there would be no development projects and no progress in our villages’.

The result of this approach was that more and more migrants arrived, more administrative villages were created, and there was more ‘development’ and ‘progress’ in the villages and in the region. The region was soon transformed into a ‘wealthy’ flourishing highland region providing migrants with opportunities for a better life. Many did attain a better life, but others certainly did not.
A Flourishing Highland

During my research, when someone visited West Lampung District and asked where are the ‘fastest developing regions’ (daerah yang paling cepat maju), the answer most likely was Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong. In the easternmost part of the district, the two capitals of these regions — Sumber Jaya (the capital of Sumber Jaya sub-District) and Fajar Bulan (the capital of Way Tenong sub-District) — were flourishing. The region had become the new commercial and population centre in the Lampung highlands and one of Lampung’s most important ‘coffee pots’. The region was dominated by smallholder agricultural production. The final part of this chapter elaborates on the socio-economic conditions in this flourishing region.

A Developing Region in an Underdeveloped Country

The level of ‘advancement’ of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong is particularly meaningful in the context of modern Indonesia. During the Suharto New Order period (1966–98), development (pembangunan) and progress (kemajuan) were key words in the grand project of Indonesian nation building. Analysing how much progress a particular region had made and which particular region within a certain administrative boundary was the ‘fastest developing’ was seen as a key measure of the success (or failure) of a region.

One indication of progress in the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong regions was the absence of IDT6 or ‘left-behind’ villages within its boundaries. A village was classified as an IDT village if it lacked the facilities and services (for example, roads, schools, health clinics, and markets) found in the average village in the province. In the mid-1990s, only two out of over 24 villages in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong were classified as IDT villages. This was much less than the average for West Lampung District, which was one out of every two villages (see Table 3-1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-districts</th>
<th>Villages in 1996</th>
<th>IDT villages in 1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metro and Bandar Lampung</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Lampung and Tanggamus</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and East Lampung</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Lampung, Tulang Bawang, Way Kanan</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Lampung</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,983</strong></td>
<td><strong>684</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The acronym derives from Instruksi Presiden Desa Tertinggal (Presidential Instruction on Left-Behind [or Neglected] Villages).
Thanks to a number of subsequent poverty alleviation and rural development projects, the number of IDT villages in West Lampung District had gradually been reduced to almost half, from 80 (49 per cent) out of 162 villages in 1996 to 42 (25 per cent) out of 169 villages in 2000. In 2000–2001, it was only in Balik Bukit where Liwa, the capital of West Lampung District is located, that there was a complete absence of IDT villages other than in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong (see Table 3-2). The absence of IDT villages in these three sub-districts suggests, albeit in a narrow sense, that progress has been achieved.\textsuperscript{7} It also reflects a lack of such progress in other sub-districts.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lrrrr}
\hline
Sub-district & Households & \multicolumn{2}{c}{Villages} \\
 & Total & Poor (\%) & Total & IDT (\%) \\
\hline
Bengkunat & 7,562 & 4,006 (53) & 16 & 6 (38) \\
Pesisir Selatan & 3,875 & 1,348 (35) & 10 & 1 (10) \\
Pesisir Tengah & 5,946 & 1,183 (20) & 20 & 2 (10) \\
Karya Penggawa & 2,611 & 384 (15) & 8 & 2 (25) \\
Pesisir Utara & 2,015 & 356 (18) & 16 & 7 (44) \\
Lemong & 2,896 & 612 (21) & 11 & 7 (64) \\
Sukau & 5,346 & 224 (4) & 9 & 2 (22) \\
Balik Bukit & 5,193 & 1,497 (29) & 11 & 0 (0) \\
Belalau & 4,471 & 506 (11) & 12 & 4 (33) \\
Batu Brak & 3,134 & 942 (30) & 9 & 3 (33) \\
Suoh & 12,326 & 3,914 (32) & 10 & 5 (50) \\
Sekincau & 9,423 & 2,317 (25) & 9 & 3 (33) \\
Way Tenong & 8,351 & 2,586 (31) & 14 & 0 (0) \\
Sumber Jaya & 8,908 & 2,973 (33) & 14 & 0 (0) \\
\hline
\textbf{TOTAL} & \textbf{82,057} & \textbf{22,848} (29) & \textbf{169} & \textbf{42} (25) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Population, poor households, and ‘left-behind villages’ by sub-district in West Lampung District, 2000.}
\end{table}


A relatively high population density is another characteristic of the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong Highland region. In 1961 the region had only 16,000 inhabitants, but the population rose to 25,000 in 1971 and then tripled to 75,000 by 1986 (Sevin 1989: 307). By 2000 the region was home to nearly 80,000 inhabitants living in 28 administrative villages. The dramatic increase in population, village development, agricultural production, and commercial activities during the last three decades has transformed the region into a lively

\textsuperscript{7} Notwithstanding that the IDT program failed to target the rural poor because many actually lived in non-IDT villages. Only through transforming the livelihoods of poor families in the IDT villages were benefits from the subsequent poverty alleviation and rural development programs derived (Perdana and Maxwell 2004).
area. What makes it exceptional is that the transformation of the region took place in the absence of large-scale government projects and private investment such as mining, plantations, or transmigration settlements.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the New Order village development program facilitated the creation of more administrative villages. Each village attracted development funds which had been made possible by the national oil boom and international lending institutions. This led to increased infrastructure development in the region. Creating more administrative villages was a justification to tap national development funds. This style of regional development became a central theme across all of Indonesia, particularly at all levels of government in Lampung Province, and caused more migration to the region.

The population in the region grew rapidly until the 1980s and then slowed. This was partly related to the ‘closing down’ of the state forest zones in the region. The late 1980s is remembered by the people in the region as the beginning of a number of efforts to remove smallholder farmers from state forest zones through a series of military operations, as well as the creation of a number of reforestation projects. The coffee boom that occurred during the monetary crisis was too short-lived to attract new migration.

The small rural towns of Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan and their immediate surroundings can perhaps be best characterised as a developing enclave in an underdeveloped district. West Lampung District has two other rural towns — the district capital of Liwa and the small beach town of Krui. The development of Liwa is largely due to its selection as the capital of the district in the early 1990s, bringing people and physical infrastructure to this otherwise quiet area. The rationale for the selection of Liwa as the district’s capital was to separate the administrative centre from the commercial and economic centres. More development projects were carried out in Liwa after an earthquake in 1994 that caused extensive damage to the town as well as many other villages in Balik Bukit. The other town, Krui, used to be an important coastal trading centre for the west coast of Lampung in the colonial era. The people of Krui still believe that the reason their town was not selected as the capital of the district was primarily because of the high-profile lobbying efforts of a few powerful provincial bureaucrats and politicians who originated from Balik Bukit and Kenali.

Within West Lampung, Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan have had a very distinctive pathway of progress. Unlike Liwa, Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan were not selected by governments as key centres in the district. Unlike Krui, Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan are newly created population areas. However, the degree and
level of modernisation in Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan is comparable to — if not surpassing — that of Krui and Liwa. Compared to other parts of this region, Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong are obviously more ‘developed’.

In the wider context of the regional development of Lampung, it is important to note that the development witnessed in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong is typical. Flourishing towns, many of which are bigger than Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, can easily be found throughout other districts in the province. These towns include: Pringsewu, Gading Rejo and Gedong Tataan in the south; Metro, Bandar Jaya, Kota Gajah and Jepara in the centre; and Tulang Bawang in the north. All have been created mainly by Javanese transmigrants.

Sumber Jaya is the only designated receiving area for transmigrants from Java in West Lampung. The accommodation for these transmigrants in West Lampung as a whole is therefore much smaller than in other parts of the province.8 A number of people in Sumber Jaya argue that it is partly due to the district not having many sites of transmigration that West Lampung still remains largely under-developed (kurang berkembang). Unlike other transmigration settlements located on the eastern Lampung plains and lowlands, where large-scale irrigation channels for rice fields can be built, Sumber Jaya is in a hilly mountain region where there are no large areas available to house such large-scale irrigated rice cultivation. Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong can provide anything anyone expects from modern rural Indonesia. In each of the small rural towns of Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, in what the people simply refer to as the market, hundreds of shops and stalls are open seven days a week. There are also weekly rotational markets on Mondays in Fajar Bulan and Saturdays in Sumber Jaya. Due to a previous prohibition on Chinese opening businesses in rural areas in Indonesia, only a few shops are owned and operated by Chinese petty traders. In these shops people can get many kinds of goods including: food or meals; a variety of household goods such as cloth, electronic equipment and furniture; building materials; automotive spare parts; and brand new motorbikes. There used to be a movie theatre in Sumber Jaya but it no longer operates because of the influx of VCD players and pirated VCD rentals. Watching national dramas (sinetron), dubbed imported serials, and television news programs are the most common evening home entertainment.

Landline telephones, available in the nearby small town of Bukit Kemuning, had not yet reached the region in 2003. People used recently established cellular

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8 Besides Sumber Jaya, Biha in Pesisir Selatan sub-district is another small-scale transmigration site in West Lampung. In the early 1990s, hundreds of forest squatter families from various parts of Lampung were resettled there under the local transmigration program.
phone services to communicate with relatives or colleagues nationwide, as well as occasionally to hear news from families working overseas (for example in Saudi Arabia or Malaysia).

Simply put, people in the region do not need to go to bigger towns or cities to get the goods and services they want. Unlike their parents, youths do not need to go to other towns to obtain a high school education. However, increasing expectations have accelerated the trend for people to travel out of the region. The desire to have a better or newer model of some consumption good, to take care of children’s higher education, and to see the world outside of the region are the most commonly stated reasons for people to travel to bigger towns and cities within the province (Kota Bumi, Bandar Jaya, and Bandar Lampung) and in Java. Since the construction of the Western Sumatra Highway in the early 1990s, bus connections between Padang, Bengkulu, and Jakarta have made travelling to Java easy. Almost every week there are also special buses that travel from Sumber Jaya to Bandung. There are two types of buses: the cheap and popular ekonomi (non-air-conditioned), and the comfortable air-conditioned bus that promises to arrive on time. There are also minibus-taxis that pick passengers up at home in Sumber Jaya and drive them to any address in Bandung and the surrounding towns in West Java. Those who want to travel within the province usually take the buses that regularly travel from Krui and Liwa to the capital of the province, Bandar Lampung. When travelling in a group with families and relatives, a chartered car is the favourite choice. One can easily find a roadworthy vehicle to rent from a fellow villager. Celebrating Muslim holy days (lebaran) and attending the weddings of relatives are occasions where a chartered car is used. The flow of people from the region to and from cities in Lampung and Java not only blurs the rural–urban distinction, but also makes the distinction between Java and outer Java seem less relevant.

However, some within the region feel that there have been some negative consequences of being close to an urban centre, including increased criminal activity. For example, trucks and cars passing along the West Sumatra Highway often take rest stops at Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya where there are plenty of restaurants and food stalls with the popular Sunda and Padang menus. For overnight stops there are a number of small hotels with growing prostitution businesses. It is rumoured that there was once a romance stall, which beside food also provided young girls for men’s sexual pleasure. The food stall soon became popular, especially among truck drivers. The local community, led by the religious leaders, soon took action. The stall owner was asked to stop the practice of prostitution and the girls were asked to leave, among them one from a neighbouring village. When asked if there was still prostitution in the region, the most likely answer was that ‘there are none that provide the service openly’.
Another concern the villagers have is the use of drugs among the youth population. On one occasion, local policemen were suspicious that a small group of teenagers was using drugs at late-night gatherings in parking lots and bungalows constructed by the tourism office for sight-seeing and rest stops between Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya. On another occasion, a police officer caught and jailed a young man planting hundreds of cannabis plants in a capsicum chilli garden in one of the villages in Way Tenong. Security is another concern, and one which has led to the creation of night watches. Stories of brand new motorbikes being stolen are frequent, and burglaries are also frequently reported, especially during the coffee harvest season.

Within the region, people use motorbike taxis, minibuses, pickups, and four-wheel drive jeeps to get from village to village. Jeeps are only used on limited occasions such as to carry bulky materials from one rotational market village to another, to deliver heavy loads from the store or market to smaller stalls in hamlets in the hills, or to bring piles of dried coffee cherries and dried beans during the coffee harvest season down from the hills and mountains. A few jeeps can still be seen loading housing construction materials or transporting lumber from the remaining forests in the mountains. With more and more paved roads and bridges being constructed, the use of these off-road vehicles, which were very popular during the last three decades, has gradually declined.

The proximity of Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan — the respective capitals of two adjacent sub-districts separated by only a 15-minute drive — is a unique setting for upland rural Java. In other areas, the distance between the capitals of two neighbouring sub-districts typically takes an hour or more to travel. Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, apart from being the primary places to sell local goods, are also where agricultural produce from surrounding villages is sold. A person travelling along the Western Sumatra Highway and viewing Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan might get the impression that the region is home to well-off rural Indonesians. Along this main road are modern brick houses and large traditional wooden stilted houses with either a motorbike or car in the front yard and a satellite dish on the roof. A number of the houses have two storeys and are extremely luxurious. Indeed, most of the richest people in the region live in and near Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya and derive their wealth from the coffee trade and from retail shops. But the picture changes as one travels to the surrounding villages. Along the main road are compact settlements with rows of sturdy brick and wooden stilted houses, but as one goes farther from the main road and the main village settlement compounds, huts made of wood and bamboo start to fill the landscape. In the two town areas, many people are

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9 Without the dish, only one of nearly ten national television channels could be received in the western half of the region and none in the eastern half.
involved in rural trading and other non-farm business and work, but in the surrounding villages and region the majority of people primarily derive their livelihood from small-scale agricultural production.

The Making (and Unmaking) of a Coffee Pot

Located on the eastern slopes of the Bukit Barisan mountain range, the villages in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region are surrounded by mountains and hills. In the centre is Bukit Rigis, to the north are Bukit Remas and Subhannallah, to the east are Gunung Abung and Bagelung, and to the west is Gunung Sekincau. The mountains are connected by gently rolling ridges encircling Bukit Rigis. The Way Besai River runs from Gunung Abung to the west, encircling Bukit Rigis and then down the valley to the west. At the easternmost end of the valley, at 720 metres above sea level, where the Way Besai River flows out of the region, is the site of the dam for the Way Besai hydroelectric power plant. Village settlements are located in the valley encircling Bukit Rigis on the banks of the Way Besai River.

Patches of forest can still be seen on the steep slopes and on the top of the mountains. Smallholder robusta coffee gardens are the predominant land use system, while wet rice fields are limited to the narrow banks of creeks and along the Way Besai River. All of the villages in the region have patches of wet rice fields, but villages with more than 100 hectares of these fields are rare. Rice is imported from other regions within the province and from Java. Within the settlements, many houses have a fish pond and favourite fishes such as goldfish (ikan mas) and gurame are regularly imported directly from towns in West Java such as Cirata, Cianjur, and Parung.

The dominance of smallholder coffee gardens in this particular region is a recent trend. Three decades previously, the region was heavily forested. While the expansion of wet rice fields and settlements has been limited, the transformation of primary and secondary forests into coffee gardens has been massive. Some consequences of this deforestation have been increased wild animal attacks and infestations. In 1997, men, women, some labourers on a reforestation project, and several farmers were attacked and killed by a tiger in Lebuay. The animal was later hunted down by a special team from the forestry office and brought to Taman Safari Zoo near Jakarta. Near the few remaining forests, villagers sometimes see tigers, bears, and deer, and the latter are still the object of non-commercial hunting. Monkeys, pigs, and elephants are now becoming pests, and attacks from pigs and elephants are especially serious. The local health clinics frequently receive patients that have been seriously wounded by pig attacks when the pigs are being hunted for destroying rice fields. Elephant groups that sometimes come to the villages seeking food during droughts have been another
problem. Villagers have been forced to conduct extended patrols to keep the elephants away because of the limited number of forest rangers. Local people think that killing the elephants would be the easiest way to protect themselves, but the fear of jail for killing endangered animals generally stops them from doing so.

The transformation of forests into smallholder coffee gardens has been accompanied by a decline of livestock husbandry in the area. Elders confirm that in the 1980s, the old Semendo villages were full of cows and buffaloes. Now only a few households in each village rear these animals. As a result of the expansion of coffee gardens, neither grazing land nor labour to feed the livestock are available. There is a possibility that this trend began after the confiscation of cows and buffaloes during the Japanese occupation in 1942–45. Tiger attacks were the primary reason for the previous reduction in sheep and goat numbers. Until recently, village night patrols had to be conducted in some of the villages to prevent tigers from taking the sheep or goats from the stalls. With the further shrinking of their habitat, the tiger population seems to be gradually declining, and more sheep and goats are now seen in the region.

With no forest left near the villages, another difficulty now is how to obtain timber for housing. Favourite first class timber from the forests, such as tenam, cempaka, and medang, has become very expensive. In the 1990s, the price of such timber was equal to local costs of cutting and transport, but the price has become more than double those costs. Cheaper timber from plantation trees is now preferred, and shorea and exotic afrika are now used for housing construction and furniture. Shorea and teak imported from the nearby regions are now sold in local lumber shops. Inferior quality timber such as kapuk and dadap are also used for light construction, such as huts and kitchens attached to the main house. While the conversion of forest to smallholder coffee gardens is obviously one cause of the scarcity of local timber, illegal logging has been another important factor. In most villages, some of the village elites have engaged — and in some cases continue to engage — in this lucrative yet illegal business with the backing of the police, military, or forestry personnel.

A large part of the region is gazetted as state forest reserve and mostly classified as protection forest. To the west there is Bukit Barisan Selatan National Park. Local people have called these zones ‘state forest land’ when referring to the land and ‘state forest’ when referring to the forest. During the 1980s and 1990s, the region was home to forest protection and rehabilitation projects. Yet there is no evidence to show that efforts to convert present coffee stands into plantation forests and prevent further expansion of smallholding coffee farming have been successful. On the contrary, plantation forests have been transformed back to coffee gardens, with the remaining natural cover also continuing to be converted.
Table 3-3: Area, population, population density, and poor families in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong sub-districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Sari</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>1,424</td>
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<td>Way Petai</td>
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<td>Suka Jaya</td>
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<td>610</td>
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<td><strong>SUMBER JAYA TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,908</strong></td>
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<td>Pajar Bulan</td>
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<td>Sidodadi</td>
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<td>Gunung Terang</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WAY TENONG TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>193</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,351</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The region of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong is recognised as an important ‘coffee pot’ within the province. The region can perhaps be regarded as the most intensive smallholding coffee growing area in the province due to recent cultivation practices. All techniques and inputs have been applied to achieve maximum output from coffee farming. Grafting, where tissues of different coffee varieties are joined together, has been done since the early 1990s. Initially, twigs
of more productive varieties of robusta were brought from the nearby region of Tanjung Raya where a handful of farmers had successfully obtained higher production after grafting their old coffee trees with stock imported from Jember in East Java. Chemical fertilisers have been used since the late 1970s when they were heavily subsidised and made available under the New Order’s famous Bimas and Inmas scheme intended for rice cultivation. Local traders, usually wealthy villagers, created schemes exploiting familial ties to obtain delivery orders from a designated fertiliser wholesaler to purchase fertiliser individually or in a group. Stalls and stores would often also sell chemical fertilisers. Various techniques of soil conservation, such as the use of terraces, ridges, and pits are applied as well, resulting in increased production levels. During ‘normal’ years the average production in the region is 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms per hectare — much higher than the national average of coffee production, which is around 500 kilograms per hectare. Only during ‘poor’ years does the production in the region fall to around the national average.

The cycle of ‘good’, ‘normal’, or ‘bad’ years is perceived to be the result of the interplay between coffee prices, climate, and the age of the coffee gardens. The late 1950s, late 1980s, early 1990s, and the end of the 1990s — the *krismon* period of 1997–98 — were considered to have been ‘good’ years. The 1980s and the period from 1999 to 2002 were considered to have been ‘bad’ years and the remaining years were considered ‘normal’.

The price of coffee is considered to be good or bad when in comparison to the price of basic necessities, most importantly milled rice. For example, during the ‘good’ years of the *krismon* in 1997–98, a kilogram of coffee was selling for Rp 8,000–12,000 and a kilogram of rice for Rp 500–1,000. From 1999 to 2002, the price of coffee dropped to Rp 3,000–4,000 per kilogram while the price of rice rose steeply to Rp 2,000 per kilogram. During these ‘bad’ years, a kilogram of coffee was almost equal to the price of a kilogram of rice. To make matters worse, the price of other goods also rose.

The 1950s was said to have been the beginning of the ‘good’ years as far as coffee farming was concerned. A kilogram of coffee was selling for Rp 3.5 while four kilograms of rice was said to cost only Rp 1 in this region. The late 1950s was also said to be a time when the practice of transforming upland rice swidden into coffee garden on fallow land ended. More labour was hired and a day’s work earned Rp 3.5, equal to the price of one kilogram of coffee. Rather than being left fallow, old coffee gardens were kept in production. More Javanese and Sundanese arrived, either as labourers or sharecroppers or, for those who had some capital, to buy young and old gardens and abandoned or fallow fields. Old gardens were pruned and rejuvenated. New forests were cleared and planted with upland rice for one or two crops while also being planted with coffee. Transforming the cleared forest into coffee gardens, without the early stage
of swidden, was also commonly practised. Opening several plots of different ages was necessary to ensure continuous production during the ‘good’ years, with gardens of full bearing coffee trees aged three to seven years. Pruned and rejuvenated gardens produced a relatively constant annual production, although lower than during the ‘good’ years. As a diversification strategy, the traditional system of inter-planting coffee with pepper continued to be practised by some farmers in the region. Besides providing shade for the coffee, dadap and gamal trees functioned as the poles for the pepper vines. More recently, commercial tree crops (for example, timber and fruit) have also been planted in coffee gardens.

Despite the introduction of chemical fertiliser, the late 1980s were considered to be bad years for coffee. Cocoa and cloves gained in popularity as a crop substitute. Many coffee gardens were transformed into either cocoa or clove gardens. Cocoa grew and produced well, but there was no one to buy the harvest, while the cloves were almost completely destroyed by leaf blight disease. A few clove trees still survive, but their economic importance in the region is insignificant. Coffee, however, has never disappeared, and the failure of both cocoa and cloves brought smallholders back to coffee.

The 1980s and 1990s are remembered as the decades when government agricultural extension programs came to the villages. New techniques and new inputs were introduced. Smallholders were encouraged to form farmers’ groups, with whom field extension officers worked closely to develop demonstration plots for better farming techniques. A World Bank-sponsored program to boost Indonesia’s smallholder export crop production, Proyek Rehabilitasi Tanaman Ekspor (Export Crops Rehabilitation Project), provided cheap credit for replanting and chemical fertilisers for hundreds of hectares of coffee gardens in the region. The forestry office ran projects to introduce soil conservation techniques (terracing and tree planting), also on the demonstration plot basis. The coffee exporters’ association (Asosiasi Eksportir Kopi Indonesia) regularly provided grants, both directly to farmers’ groups and through agricultural extension agencies, to deliver technical assistance to promote better quality coffee production. Sponsoring farmers’ delegates to visit and learn from other coffee pots in Java was one form of technical assistance.

The 1990s was the period when the harvesting of coffee enabled the people in the region to secure a higher economic position. Many brick houses were built during the first half of the decade. Old traditional stilted houses were renovated and new ones constructed. Cars and motorbikes became much more numerous. Local coffee traders got richer and petty trading flourished. The prohibition preventing the Chinese from opening businesses in rural Indonesia enabled a few merchants in the region to accumulate considerable wealth from local commercial activities. The climax came during the nation’s monetary crisis when the coffee price skyrocketed. Farmers received export dollars for their
crops as the value of the rupiah deflated. The El Niño drought brought good production from mostly grafted coffee trees and the price of coffee rose three to four times while the price of other goods remained stable. With the sudden increase of purchasing power, local people likened the massive buying of luxury goods such as cars, televisions, and furniture to buying cheap snacks: ‘Just like buying fried bananas!’

It was also during the 1990s that the dwarf arabica variety was introduced, again on a demonstration plot basis. Seedlings were distributed free of charge and farmers were told that arabica would sell for a higher price, but that never happened. Local traders and exporters bought both robusta and arabica at the same price and, according to those who planted arabica, more labour was required to maintain their gardens, especially to remove the twigs. Additionally, unlike robusta, without chemical fertiliser the arabica would bear no cherries. These factors all contributed to the lack of conversion from robusta to arabica in the region.

The post-krismon economic recovery of Indonesia beginning in 1999 brought a real economic crisis for the villagers in the region. The price of coffee dropped dramatically while the price of rice and other basic goods rose steeply. Things became very difficult, and even buying cheap fried bananas was no longer easy. Too much rain was blamed for the drop in average production in the region’s coffee gardens as well as the change in the use of chemical fertilisers. Some simply said that the coffee trees were exhausted after the long ‘good’ years in the 1990s.

While the ‘bad’ years of the 1980s drove some smallholders to cocoa and cloves, some of the smallholders in the region began to turn to commercial vegetables. Vegetable production in Liwa declined due to a combination of vegetable fields being converted into coffee gardens during the krismon, a recent severe disease infestation, and a decline in soil fertility. However, a steadily expanding vegetable production in the neighbouring region of Sekincau, to the west, inspired the conversion of some coffee gardens into vegetable fields and the interplanting of coffee and small hot chilli throughout Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya. In 2002, in the towns of Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya, one could hardly miss seeing sacks and baskets of vegetables filling the storehouses and being loaded onto pickups or light trucks for export to larger provincial towns and sometimes to Java.

A Multi-Ethnic Middle Peasantry

The slower pace of migration into the region since the late 1980s has influenced the current pattern of landholding in the region. It has helped prevent the further monopoly of land by a select few and further increases in landlessness.
As far as landholding is presently concerned, the region has not evolved into polarised and opposed classes, with a few landlords at one end and a mass of landless people at the other (see Table 3-3). This is mostly due to the domination of a middle peasantry in the region, which is not simply a function of the land-to-person ratio or population pressure alone, but is linked to wider and more complex processes.

‘Wealthy’ landholding in the region refers to ownership of more than 10 hectares of land. It is everyone’s dream to have such a large amount of land, but few are able to do so. In almost all of the villages, only a small number of families with around 10 hectares of coffee gardens can be found, and someone owning more than 20 hectares has ‘never been heard of’. There are two strategies for acquiring a large garden. One is by organising a group of men for forest clearing. The leader is responsible for recruiting and providing the food for his working party during the forest clearing and coffee planting, and retains a larger portion of the newly established gardens. No cash payments are involved; instead each group member receives a portion — a hectare or two — of the new garden, and then they have the option to sell or keep it. Some of the plots are sold to recover costs, such as providing food for the working party. The members can plant upland rice on the newly cleared land for one or two crops and are entitled to all of the harvest. A second strategy is to acquire the gardens during ‘poor’ years when their owners are in financial difficulty and when the price of the garden can be bought below the former market price. After a decade or two of following either strategy repeatedly, one can eventually own a large number of coffee gardens scattered throughout the area.

It is also important to note that these large garden holdings soon become fragmented and passed on to descendents. With the fluctuation in coffee prices and production during ‘poor’ years, the revenue from coffee alone is insufficient to cover the cost of its upkeep, including fertiliser and hired labour. Having the plots scattered over large areas and with coffee trees at different stages of development makes supervision difficult and production uncertain. Therefore it is necessary for large landowner families to have sources of income other than their coffee gardens, such as rice fields, trading and transportation activities, and sometimes money lending.

Having a large amount of land has been discouraged by the national legal system. The regulations dictated by the *Indonesian Basic Agrarian Law* of 1960 set limits on the plot size of land that can be individually owned.\(^\text{10}\) Beyond the set limit, the owner can only obtain a long-term lease on a plot of land which is time

\(^{10}\) Government Regulation 56 stipulates a 5-hectare ceiling for irrigated land or 6 hectares for non-irrigated land per family in areas where population density exceeds 400 persons per square kilometre. For areas with less than 51 persons per square kilometre, the limits are between 15 and 20 hectares.
Consuming and incurs considerable cash payments. More importantly, leasing land is incompatible with the traditional system of inheritance that emphasises land ownership with or without an official certificate of title. Certificates of land ownership, on the other hand, are easier to obtain and are much cheaper under the government land administration projects regularly initiated in the region. There are several cultural motives for selling land, including the ability to invest in more profitable or less risky businesses and to obtain cash for various uses, such as children's higher education and marriage, treatment of severe illness, completing construction of a home, or, less commonly, for pilgrimage costs to pay homage in Mecca.

Landless and near landless farmers are not uncommon. They are latecomers and/or spontaneous migrants who have settled in the region as labourers or sharecroppers. Young couples waiting to inherit land from their parents also fall into this category. Finding a garden and/or rice field to sharecrop is not difficult in the region. Borrowing an 'unused' plot without paying is another arrangement to which landless households resort in order to gain access to land for cultivation. Villagers in this stratum often earn income from working in gardens that belong to their friends and neighbours. Going from landless labourer to smallholder is a common form of upward mobility that utilises the popular tactic of saving money during the 'good' years and using it to buy land. The bulk of the population in the region owns one or more plots totalling at least one hectare of coffee garden (see Table 3-4). To maintain more than a hectare of coffee garden requires extra labour in addition to that of household members. This necessitates the use of previously unused plots (numpang), sharecropping, and hired labour.

Table 3-4 shows the distribution of coffee gardens and rice fields between a sample of 107 households from seven hamlets (and seven villages) in the Sumber Jaya, and Way Tenong sub-districts. The villages selected for the survey represented old Semendo villages created prior to the 1950s (Gunung Terang and Sindang Pagar), transmigration villages created in the 1950s (Simpang Sari and Fajar Bulan), and newer villages created by the subsequent spontaneous transmigrants since the 1960s (Cipta Waras, Suka Jaya, and Trimulyo). Hamlets with rice fields from each village were chosen for survey in consultation with village leaders. About 20 per cent of the hamlet residents were chosen for the household survey. The survey excluded hamlets without rice fields and non-landowning households — namely sharecroppers and/or contract labourers — many of whom lived in houses or huts in the gardens outside the hamlet settlement compounds.
Engaging in various forms of off-farm work is a general strategy among all strata though the motivations, processes, and consequences may differ. Among the lower economic stratum, since income is insufficient, survival is a primary goal. About one in three households/families in the region were classified as poor in 2000 (see Tables 3-1 and 3-2). Family member(s) were sent outside of the region to work in cities in Java or ideally in foreign countries. For families in the upper stratum, investing in more profitable and less risky businesses was a primary goal. For all strata, having educated children who will no longer need to engage in farming was a worthy goal.

In the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region, illiteracy is relatively low, especially among the younger generation. Most elders and adults have received a primary school education in the region, and it is common now for the younger generation to continue on to junior and senior high school. Among the lower stratum, however, money is a large constraint that prevents children from getting a higher education. Money is also a concern among the middle stratum, though not to the same degree. For the upper stratum, it is the children’s desires that determine how far they pursue their education. Among the middle and upper classes there are many cases where children are reluctant to undertake further studies or incapable of doing so. The children’s reasons for not continuing with schooling are accepted and justified by parents as a growing number of those graduating from universities take low-paid jobs or fail to find a job altogether. In these cases, studying at university is considered a waste of time and money.

Table 3-4: Land ownership in selected hamlets in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong sub-districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Coffee Gardens</th>
<th>Rice Fields</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sample h'holds</td>
<td>% owning</td>
<td>Size range (ha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunung Terang</td>
<td>Gunung Terang</td>
<td>16 100</td>
<td>0.5–4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindang Pagar</td>
<td>Sindang Pagar</td>
<td>13 100</td>
<td>0.25–6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpang Sari</td>
<td>Air Ringkikh</td>
<td>14 85</td>
<td>1.0–3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fajar Bulan</td>
<td>Fajar Bulan</td>
<td>12 91</td>
<td>0.25–3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cipta Waras</td>
<td>Waras Sakti</td>
<td>18 100</td>
<td>0.4–2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suka Jaya</td>
<td>Talang Bodong</td>
<td>15 100</td>
<td>0.5–4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimulyo Air Dingin</td>
<td>19 100</td>
<td>0.25–12.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2002 survey data.
Higher education and socio-economic mobility are possible partly because of the acceptance of the government family planning program, Keluarga Berencana (KB). The majority of fertile couples in the region participate in the family planning program. Previously subsidised, fertile couples now pay for the KB injections and pills that prevent pregnancy. On one hand, having fewer children increases the ability of parents to financially support their children's education, but on the other, it reduces the availability of free labour for farming, which again necessitates the use of sharecropping and wage labour to make ends meet.

Children's education and home construction/improvement are two priorities, and income generated in excess of everyday household needs goes towards paying for these two items. Buying a vehicle and household equipment are the next priorities, and the last household financial demand is to 'take a last step to the stairway to heaven', or a pilgrimage to Mecca. There are two types of pilgrimages (haji). The first is called kiyai haji and the pilgrim is bestowed the title of 'real haj' (haji betul). This pilgrimage is made by those with a deep knowledge of Islam, who apply it in daily life, and who are actively teaching Islamic religion to pesantren pupils — students at an Islamic school — in mosques or occasional learning groups. There are few with this status and they earn high respect. The second type is referred to as 'coffee haj' (haji kopi). These individuals were able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca with the earnings of their large coffee garden holdings. Their knowledge of Islam and the alignment of their daily life with the teaching of Islam are limited. Compared to the haji betul, the haji kopi are more numerous, while Semendonese and Sundanese haj are more numerous than Javanese haj.

Distinguishing the proportions of the three major ethnic groups in the region is difficult. None can be said to be dominant. In the village markets, apart from Bahasa Indonesia, all three languages — Sundanese, Javanese, and Semendonese — are spoken interchangeably. The younger generation usually understands all languages and most speak all three. Since there is neither an ethnic preference nor avoidance in marriage, intermarriage is prevalent. With marriage, it is religion that will determine compatibility. As long as the religious denomination and level of devotion is the same, inter-ethnic marriage is acceptable.

Within a village it is common to find a hamlet or neighbourhood with a dominant ethnic group — Sunda, Java, or Semendo. Those from other ethnic groups living in a hamlet adopt the dominant language. There are also hamlets and neighbourhoods with a more diverse mix of ethnic groups along the main road and Bahasa is spoken here. Along the main road in the main village settlements, Padang traders and tailors and Batak tyre repair services are common.

It is important to note that with regard to identity, all of the migrants from the highlands of Palembang see themselves as Semendo although they may originally
have come from other Pasemah sub-groups. Thus, all Pasemah-speaking persons in the region identify themselves and are identified as Semendo. The same is true of those from Sunda, including those few from Banten who identify themselves and are identified by others as Sundanese.

Ethnicity in the region is often a subject of political mockery. In the case of forest destruction, the migrants from Java ‘wash their hands’ of this issue and instead blame the Semendo for their aggressive yet admired techniques in clearing the forest. In retort, the Semendo point out that it is the migrants from Java who farm the cleared forestland. The Semendo claim that the migrants from Java have only become as ‘healthy’ as they are now thanks to Semendonese generosity in ‘giving’ them land. The migrants from Java claim that the region’s progress is the result of their work, and that without them there would be no development or progress. These friendly rivalries over the subject of development and progress provide the central and dynamic theme of local village politics. The next chapter will discuss this dynamic as it relates to development and progress in the region.